7: Shklovsky -- 217 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116, 437, 484

"At one time Yakutsk sent out a body of explorers, who with little means accomplished more than other expeditions which were better equipped. Among them were Michael Stadukin, Dejnev, who discovered the strait between the two continents, Nikita Shallaourov, Lakhov, Bakhov, Laptev, Pavloutski, and Sergent Andreef, who first brought news of having seen land beyond Bear Island. At that time Yakutsk was the centre to which went all the energetic, enterprising, and adventurous, also those who wanted rich furs. Trade in furs still goes on there, but the traders take no interest in anything beyond the furs they get, for which they pay in vodka. If the modern Yakut knew anything of the former gererations of trader-explorers, he might with reason be proud of them, but they perished, like the race of giants, leaving no trace."

9: Stadling--134 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 437, 577

"Nor do the moral characteristics of the Tunguses show much approximation to their Turki neighbours, such as the Yakuts. Thus the unimpeachable honesty and straightforwardness of the former, who will take care to pay, not only their own debts, but also those of their dead forefathers, make them an easy prey to the less scrupulous Yakuts, not to speak of the rapacious merchants and dealers in strong liquors, who swindle them at every term."

17: Erman--257 N-3 (1828-29)1850 Yakut
116, 226, 556, 437

"In Kantinsk, seventy-seven versts from Peskovsk, and in the following stages, the Russian population is mixed with more than an equal proportion of Yakuts. These are far more successful fishers and hunters than the Russians, and we were always sure of finding in their yurts a good stock of carp and other fish. Many of them have grown rich by barter, while the Russians here, by their own confession, find a miserable subsistence."

17: Erman--258 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 226, 437

"I purchased of the Yakuts in Murierinsk a supply of carp, which furnished us with some good dinners in the following part of our journey. Most of these fish were now swelled with roe to double their ordinary size, and many of them were very large independent of this circumstance. The method adopted here for carrying them is to run a stick, about two feet long, through the middle of the body, so as to sustain a great number of fish with their flat sides close together, while a crook at either end prevents their falling off. They are taken in the lakes belonging to the Yakuts on the northern side of the Lena, and, consequently, the Russians on the river have only as many of these fish, as those original and more practised lords of the soil allow to escape to them. The latter, however, carry many hundred poods of this fish for sale into the upper part of the valley."

17: Erman--258 [2] N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 361, 437

"Mitleyev [RCH: one of the author's companions on his journey] left with the Yakuts in Murierinsk, a packet, which was to be forwarded, from hand to hand, to the settlement of Olensk, which lies northwards in lat. 63.8. This is, as they term it, a place of the Yakuts, where several Russian merchants, with a priest of the Greek Church, reside for the sake of trade. In the older Russian maps, in truth, is found at this place, on the river Olenek, the following indication--'Projected city of Olensk; and close to it are marked the dwellings of the Yakutian princes, Khariton Shishkin and Muishkapan Okin, along with the yurts of their people. When modern maps, on the other hand, represent the banks of the river as almost wholly depopulated, I cannot help thinking that this confession is somewhat premature, for even now the Yakuts of Murierinsk look upon their prosperity and thriving condition as the consequences of the trade with those of the same race who live farther north."

17: Erman--260 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 178, 563, 437

" An old Russian, from the vicinity of Murom, who had been banished to Yerbinsk some fifty years before for homicide, complained to me, with laughable impudence, of the progressive improvement of the Yakuts. Formerly, these people paid for every pound of flour, with the finest furs, but now they hardly paid as much for a pood; and so it sometimes happened that they laid up a stock of flour, and then, in the winter, retailed it to the Russians. Indeed, when he first came here, every Russian passed with the Yakuts for a superior being, --they have even stood to salute him at a respectful distance; but matters were at last nearly come to that pass that he would have to bow to the Yakuts."

17: Erman--306 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 177, 437

"The snow had already melted in the streets of Yakutsk during the last few days; I found it necessary, therefore, to get all our luggage packed on oxen before our door, and carried to the bank of the Lena. There it was stowed, with much trouble, in the sledges, two ofwhich I intrusted to the superintendence of the Kosaks. The borders of the river are here quite flat, and the icy surface, four versts wide, on which we travelled,could hardly be distinguished from the plain on the right bank. On this, we first met with some Yakutian yurts, with German names! They are called yàrmonskiya, that is, the yurts of the yearly market (jahrmarktliche) or fair, because the Russian merchants meet here in summer, and begin their journey to Okhotsk by bartering with the Yakuts of the neighbourhood."

19: Kharuzin -- 62 [3] E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 423, 437

Barter is widespread among the Yakuts. The objects of barter can be sections of land; in such cases the barter takes place with the knowledge of the elders and the society. A note is made of the exchange of lands which has taken place in a special book, in which are written down all the Yakut "meadow lands, with an indication of the designation of each survey mark, the boundaries of the given section, and the quantity of hay obtained from it," together with the category to which it pertains.

19: Kharuzin -- 62-63 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 437, 627

The act of purchase-sale is consummate orally among the Yakuts, in the presence of witnesses (one or two). Sometimes the purchase-sale is mingled with barter; the seller comes to an agreement with the purchaser that in return for the object acquired by the latter he will pay with certain stipulated objects. We find among the Yakuts the widespread rule that in the purchase of horses a halter goes to the purchaser, while in the purchase of a cow a rope goes with the animal. [63] This rule, according to Prince Kostrov, is not observed if the animals are sold for slaughter... One also encounters the custom of giving a deposit. In this connection, if the purchaser should note after paying the deposit that the purchased object is not suitable, he has the right to reject it and demand the return of his deposit. In cases where the sold object turns out to be someone else's property, the purchaser must point out the seller, otherwise the object is taken away from him and returned to the owner. Disputes arising from purchase-sale are settled by the elders; in this connection, in cases of dispute over the quality or quantity of the sold object, the elders turn for a decision to intermediaries.

24: Wrangell--30-31 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 322, 437, 532

"At the annual fair of Jakuzk one sees none of the popular amusements common at fairs in Europe: there is not even the appearance of animation and bustle which might naturally be expected. The goods are not openly exposed for sale, and most of the purchases are effected in the houses or enclosures of the citizens. The strangers generally seek to [31] conceal from each other the particulars of their dealings, which are almost exclusively with the inhabitants, they scarcely ever having any transactions with one another. Almost all the Russian settlers in Jakuzk employ their little capital in purchasing, in small parcels from the Jakuti during the winter, a collection of furs, on which they realize a good profit at the fair. The Russians live entirely by trade, having abandoned all sorts of handicraft to the aboriginal Jakuti, among whom there are now excellent carpenters, cabinet-makers, carvers in wood, and even painters. The pictures of saints, and the carving and interior fittings in the new church at Jakuzk, are all by Jakuti, and are neatly executed."

24: Wrangell--37-38 G-3 (1820-23) 1842 Yakut
116, 273, 276, 437

"Both men and women are passionately fond of smoking tobacco, preferring the most pungent kinds, especially the Circassian. They swallow the smoke, and it produces a kind of stupefaction closely resembling intoxication; and if provoked when in this state, the consequences are often dangerous. Bran-[38]dy is also used, though the long inland carriage makes it extremely dear. The Russian traders konw [sic] how to avail themselves of these tastes in their traffic for furs."

27: Coxwell--262 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 157, 197, 437

"The Yakuts occupy a territory, about twice the size of France, in the middle Lena basin. Their language bears a close relationship to that of other Turkish or Tatar stock; it being even said that the Yakut of the Lena and the Osmanli of Constantinople could without much difficulty understand one another. With a great talent for trade, the Yakut gets the better not only of the Tunguses, whose reindeer he often owns and whose furs he claims in advance, but also of the Cossacks. He is energetic and diligent when obliged to work or if faced with an alluring opportunity. Thus the Yakuts have increased largely in numbers, and the young Russians are glad to take wives from among their women."

38: Dobell--24-27 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut-1-3
116, 435, 437, 475

"There must also be a great deal of improper management, to say the least of it, in the purchase of flour, the transportation of it, packing, &c. &c. which I cannot pass over in silence, as it really calls for strict examination. A pood of flour that costs only fifty to sixty kopecs at Irkutsk, and is generally sold at Yakutsk at a rouble to a rouble and a half, stands the Government, by the time it arrives at Ochotsk (one thousand and twelve versts), nearly ten roubles per pood. To carry five poods and thirty pounds of this flour to Ochotsk, contracts are made with the Yakuts at eighty or eighty-five roubles, and sometimes more, per horse; this being a horse's load. Now I have been confidently informed, that the Yakuts seldom receive much more than one half of that sum; the rest being divided amongst the officers of Government! There is also much to be altered in the manner of transporting the flour on the Lena and to Ochotsk. Flour is generally sent down the Lena in large square flat-bottomed vessels called barques, in bulk; and, as it is often badly dried, it heats, becomes bitter, and loses much of its nutritious quality. When it arrives at Yakutsk it is thrown into magazines, also in bulk, where it becomes [25] further heated, and is more or less spoiled. (1) If it were sent in

1. As I have been three times at Yakutsk, and lived there once for ten months, the reader will perceive that I speak of those matters from my own experience.

bags from Irkutsk it would be much better preserved, and the additional cost would be trifling, as the bags would serve many years in succession. At Yakutsk the flour is packed into leathern bags, called sumas, made of ox-hides untanned, but dressed white, and the hair taken off. To pack the flour into them tightly, so that each suma shall contain two poods and thirty-five pounds, it is necessary to wet them; the flour that adheres to the wet suma dries and becomes as hard as a stone, and is thus rendered impenetrable to all sorts of weather; so that if the suma be good there cannot be a safer mode of conveying the article; but unfortunately the sumas that are now contracted for at about two roubles and a half a-piece, are so thin and bad, that the flour often spoils, and the sumas only serve for a season or two, instead of lasting four or five years, as was formerly the case. It would be cheaper to pay five roubles for a good strong suma, that would last several years, than to buy such trash because it is cheap. However, it would of course [26] prove less profitable to the parties concerned, if the sumas were good and the contracts fewer. During five years residence in Kamtchatka, I paid from eleven and a half to twelve roubles and sixty kopecs a pood for the rye-flour I consumed; and I never saw a suma that was not either bitter-flavoured, tasting of the leather, or having sand mixed with it. One additional cause, however, of the spoiling of the sumas must be mentioned, because it proceeds from neglect. That there are rats in the magazines at Ochotsk and Kamtchatka arises from their not having been properly built. The floors and ceilings should be either composed of solid square

birch logs, laid close together, or else lined with sheet-iron. Either of these methods would effectually keep out the rats; but neither will be adopted at Kamtchatka as long as the Government is in the habit of allowing ninety poods of flour (1) annually for the

1. I have since heard that the Government of Irkutsk has at length refused to allow rations to the rats of Kamtchatka.

consumption of those animals, many of whom I believe, if the truth were known, have only two legs! Their getting into the transports is owing to the neglect of the commanders, who do not take the [27] necessary precautions to prevent them; or if they get in, surely a good smoking would destroy them in a few hours. If there were not a great deal of improper management and bad conduct, surely the flour might be carried cheaper and be sold for much less than twelve roubles and sixty kopecs at Kamtchatka."

T /126 cont./
122 from the bank. From our camp, which was pitched in the
Y vicinity, we sent Ssemjón to reconnoiter, and he came back in
[43] the night with two Tungus, who, like the old Jakute, were known to him from before. "I rarely see them," he said laconically. In view of the way of life on both sides that is probably very understandable. Soon it appeared that they had previously had a business connection with regard to a mammoth tusk and, it appeared, not to Ssemjón's advantage. They did not make a good impression in general, and, after buying a reindeer calf, we parted from them as quickly as possible. The people were from Lake Dshesse, but belonged to the Syrungna Tungus.

Y On August 11 when we stopped at midday Ssemjón said
122 that we were no longer very far from the Ssiligír, below the
123 mouth of which, on the small river Ssénjka emptying into the Olenék from the left side, Jakuten /Yakut/ were said to be settled. We had at first intended to go directly down to this river, but now learned that the settlement was three days of travel from the Ssénjka mouth, although from here, because of the previously mentioned great bends of the Olenék, was not very far, which was also confirmed by the fact that we found a well-filled storage chamber. So it was decided that Ssemjón was to hurry there and fetch the people, while we went on to the vicinity of the Ssiligír mouth. It proved to be /127/ not very near, however, for we could not reach it until sunset and therefore had to stop above it.

Y The next morning Ssemjón appeared in the company of a
[554] Jakuten /Yakut/, Nikolai Boldonó, whose appearance, though
[291] certainly not magnificent, showed that he was to be counted
● 437] as one of the wealthier ones. Namely, he had on a cotton shirt and a flowered scarf around his neck, whereas all the other Tungus and Jakuten whom we had seen so far along the Olenék, even the earlier Nikolai, were dressed in leather and skins throughout, a sign that they seldom or never have an opportunity to come in contact with traders or cannot afford their
Y prices. Later we learned that the imported dabá (a cotton ma-
[437] terial usually dyed dark blue) is not too expensive, comparatively

/127 cont./

122 speaking, but so poor that a shirt made of it falls off the body
123 in rags after a few days. To be sure, this is defective goods
[437] from Jakutsk /Yakutsk/ or Wiljuisk /Vilyuisk/, which in this respect is probably the last possible link in the long progression of merchandise that moves from the factories to Nishni-Nowgorod /Nizhni Novgorod/, Irbit, Tomsk, etc., steadily decreasing in quality. A reindeer which we wished to buy was not brought along, because the Jakute /Yakut/ had had a death in his family a few days before and during his attending to the burial the reindeer had gone astray. At least so he said, and he showed absolutely no desire to accompany us. Only when he saw the relatively rich presents in the form of powder, lead, flour, tea, ropes, and the like that Ssemjón received for his services did he decide to come along, at first probably with the intention of soon leaving us again after finding a substitute, whom he hoped to find somewhere in the vicinity.

122 Boldonó is not the only inhabitant of this region; /128/ on
123 the Olenék itself, above the mouth of the Ssiligír, we saw a
[342] tschum /choom/ and a large storage chamber. Its owner,
[343] Gurtschúna, likewise a Jakute /Yakut/, was not present, but
[131] had gone to the Dolgán, who, according to Middendorff's map, are to be found from the mouth of the Anábara to the Jenisseí /Yenisei/ at Dúdino. The son of the schúlinga of this region was also supposed to be staying temporarily in the vicinity of the Ssiligír. And in fact we saw nets hung at the mouth of the Ssénjka, which probably belonged to him, but he was not to be seen, in spite of calls and shots. Ssemjón accompanied us a short distance beyond the Ssiligír, which flows into the Olenék from the right side with two branches at the junction and, after the Argáchala, is probably its most important tributary. Then he took his leave with many thanks and went back to his family, which probably was now willing to be found.

/198 cont./

273 supervised, is simply not in a position to carry out this measure
273 with great strictness. On the Jenissei in particular, where trade is
●437 much brisker than on the Lena, great quantities of liquor are sold
441 to the indigenous tribes by the merchants; the officials, even if they actually desired to resist bribery by the traders, are only rarely in a position to stop the mischief, for even though they now and then seize a shipment of liquor, they are usually obliged to hand it over again to the owner, who insists that it is needed for himself and his own workers. The thirst of a Russian, even though it may be colossal -- the climate also brings this about -- cannot very well /199/ be lawfully curtailed if it does not lead to excess. It is certain that the Russian government does at least as much as any other government in similar circumstances -- particularly the North American and English ones -- to acquaint the original inhabitants with the good aspects of civilization and to keep the corrupting ones away from them, but profit is as dear to the Russian merchants as to the foreign ones, and liquor, as is well known, is the favorite article of trade and the most profitable one for the traders everywhere.

122 Before our departure the leaders of the district assembled
123 here gave us a demonstration of their unselfishness which cannot be appreciated enough. Our guide Atschkássow had already definitely refused to accept any kind of remuneration for the service performed for us and for the large number of reindeer that had been used for our transport for weeks; when we now began to speak of remuneration here, the golowá told us that the upráwa had unanimously decided to transport us to the border of the ulússes without any recompense whatever. At our request this decision was put in writing by the secretary and signed by all the members of the upráwa, which was done by an impression of their seals, to which the secretary added the corresponding names. These quasi coats-of-arms, any symbol, a flower, an animal, and the like, blackened with soot, were pressed on paper. We did not fail to present this official document later to the isprawnik /ispravnik/ of the Werchojansk /Verkhoyansk/ district, to which the Shigansker uluss /Zhigansk ulus/ belongs, as well as to the

233 reindeer are missing in their own herds. We tried to find out how
422 this was done, but even the Dolgan themselves could not explain it,
but only said that it was so simple because the eye "gets used to"
233 one's own reindeer. [Fig. 17] If a strange reindeer attaches himself
425 to a herd the owner of the herd passes the word along and supports
the reindeer until its owner is found.

233 It must be concluded that the custom of regarding reindeer as
261 private property did not arise so long ago--perhaps even after the
422 Russians came--which can be seen from the following: 1) in summer
the reindeer owned by a rich man are treated as a food supply for
the whole nomadic group in case of insufficiency of wild animals
and birds; in such cases the reindeer are killed without any com-
pensation for the owner; 2) the fact that it is only within the last
few decades that the reindeer has become an object of merchandise.
These questions are considered in greater detail in our work on the
Dolgan clan, and for this reason we shall not dwell on them here.

233 Up to the present time there has existed the custom of rich men
427 lending reindeer "gratis" to poor men, which cannot help leading
to cases of open or hidden exploitation. Usually in the autumn the
nearby poor men descend on a rich person and take reindeer from
him for their needs for a month, for two months, or until spring,
depending on the understanding; and if the borrowed reindeer is
killed by a wolf or dies of a disease, the poor man does not have
to make good the loss, but merely brings the hide from the rein-
deer's leg to the owner. An especially favorable environment for
exploitation is formed when reindeer are lent to a poor man to im-
port government loads: in this case the rich man gives the poor man
several extra reindeer in order that the poor man may import the
alloted load on them, and for this labor the latter is not repaid in
any way, but the money for transporting the goods goes to the owner
of the reindeer. The advantage of such an arrangement becomes
clear when one realizes that under this system the rich man does
not have to hire draymen at his own expense.

233 Besides the "gratis" dispensation of reindeer, there also exists ex-
432 change of reindeer, and--a later phenomenon--selling of reindeer.
437 In exchanging reindeer, A asks B for one of the latter's fine rein-
deer which A likes, offering in return a reindeer which is not equal
in value to B's reindeer, or even a reindeer which is no good at all;
as he does this, A says that later on B will obtain a good reindeer
from him on the same terms. The selling of reindeer is not a fre-
quent occurrence even nowadays among the Dolgan; they buy (that
is, in 1929-1931) a buck for twenty-five or thirty rubles cash, or for

233 one polar fox, or for reindeer meat, fat, and hides, according to
432 the agreement; the last case is met with very rarely.
437 The increase in the size of their herds leads rich men to resort to two applications of hired labor: 1) turning part of their herds over
233 to someone else to be looked after for the summer, and 2) hiring
464 herders.
465 [200] In the spring the rich reindeer breeder remains for the most part near the rivers, where he lives a more peaceful settled life
[857] fishing. For the duration of this period he sends his reindeer into the tundra, appointing as substitute master in place of himself one of his children--even though he may be a mere child--to be attached to the herders or to poor relatives, who, it goes without saying, receive nothing for their work. If there are no children or relatives, or if the latter are for some reason unwilling, a hired "master" is found. The family of the latter is provided with flour, tea, and tobacco until autumn, that is, until the return of the herd; to the man (the herder) alone is given half of a thick, dressed hide for the soles of his shoes and one chamois leather for his summer footgear. But he is also given a summer Siberian fur coat; sometimes this is already made, and sometimes he is told to kill such and such a reindeer and to use its hide for clothing. As pay such a hired master receives two or three reindeer for the summer's work. If a reindeer dies from disease or is killed by some wild animal during the pasturing time, the hired master is not held responsible, but is required to present the hide from the reindeer's body and legs to the owner, provided the reindeer did not die of some contagious disease.

In the fall the herd is driven home and handed over to the owner. Men who live in the same choom as the master are chosen to look after the herd in the winter. Usually such herdsmen are clanless bachelors or poor men who have added their few reindeer to the herd of the rich man, and who help out in the pasturing in return for this. The aforementioned persons do not receive any pay besides food and
[736] winter clothing. To a second category of herdsmen belong orphans who have been turned over to their relatives to be brought up, or the children of poor men who are considered the wards of society and who live with the rich man until they come of age. They are likewise supplied with clothing and food, and they receive one or two reindeer for their winter services, depending on the wishes of the master. And finally, there are special hired herdsmen in the proportion of two persons for each thousand reindeer. Under them there is supposed to be a woman subordinate, who is supposed to mend clothing, change the soles on footgear, dress and soften the hide for